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577 portant and whenever it is customary to do so; in a word, you should
771 lead a good religious life. Indeed what can you expect from a man who does not live according to his convictions, or rather to the convictions of the generality of his tribesmen? Do you think that the spirits will leave you at rest if you do not do what is necessary, either to propitiate them or to put them to flight? Do you think you will be fortunate in your enterprises if you fail to observe, either the usual signs that will prevent you from entering upon dangerous enterprises, or the taboos which custom has told you not to transgress? It would be considered as the acme of bad behavior to live as a freethinker in matters religious. You may say you do so to a stranger, you may appear not to believe our laws any more, when in the presence of an Ibanag,[2] otherwise he might laugh at you; but among us these things are very serious and they should be observed by all means. If you are a true Isneg, believe as an Isneg and practise your religion".

577 The Isneg, however, seem to be much less fanatical in matters reli-
177 gious than the Kankanay, the Bontok Igorot, and others. I have
771 known Kankanay men to whip their Christian children for refusing to attend heathen sacrifices; such things would rarely, if ever, happen here. I shall come back to this again when comparing theory with practice.

577 "Headhunting is a glorious practice. If you are a real Isneg,
829 you should take a few heads during your lifetime or at least help
721 your companions in doing so. Never forego the occasion of participating in a raid planned by your friends, whether into the lowlands among Christian Iloko and Kagayan, or among Negritos, Kalinga and other Isneg at enmity with your people. If you have the opportunity to take the head of an enemy unawares, be it that of a woman or child, there you have a splendid occasion of becoming a *máñal*, a brave, without too much trouble and with very little danger. Not everybody has that chance, not everybody will become a brave, but you should at least try your very best to be one. What a glory

101 [2] Ibanag is the language of the Kagayan, but in an Isneg mouth the term means
192 "anybody who is not an Isneg". What we express by saying "to become a Christian" is translated by the Isneg as "to become an Ibanag". It is almost impossible to convince them that an Isneg can become a Christian and remain an
104 Isneg. Similar ideas obtain among the Christian tribes: they call themselves *Christiano* whatever tribe they belong to, and all pagans in their eyes are Igorot, Kalinga, Itneg or Isneg; once baptized the latter have ceased to be anything like that; they have become Christians pure and simple.

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for you if you can show the girls an *andôri* tattooed on your arm; will they not be eager to get the attentions of such a warrior? Will they not vie with one another in making themselves attractive and pleasing to him? Such a man will be renowned all over the country, and at every public *say-ôm* sacrifice he will recount his brave deeds. Even when he is tottering with old age, people will respect him as they will nobody else, and after he has long been dead, his name will still be pronounced with reverence and given to children as a remembrance of his great deeds, so that his spirit will continue to live on earth in the members of the younger generation who are called by his name. In the realm of the dead his soul will live encircled by the same aureole of a glorious and immortal fame. It is true that actually you can hardly aspire to such great glory: strangers have taken possession of the land, people who know nothing about Isneg heroism and justice, people who would punish you for such an act of courage, people who do not understand that an enemy has no rights, that his head is acceptable to the spirits. But we of the older generation, we at least should not abandon our glorious traditions; and if it might please the spirits or an all-powerful fate to return to us our lost freedom and rid us of constabulary and judges, then, yes, you should not forget that you are an Isneg, that a head is the most precious offering that you can make to the spirits, that taking the head of an enemy, whoever he be, whether dead or alive, will give you a crown not to be equalled by anything else. You know how often these last years we have been visited by locusts and famine. Whose fault is it? Nobody else's but the cursed Ibanags': they forbid us to propitiate the spirits who are craving for human heads, and what can the *anito* do but punish us for our negligence?"

A couple of years ago, a poor Negrito, Kalisto by name, who had just escaped from jail, from which he would have been released very soon as he was innocent of the crime imputed to him, was killed at Tawit by an Isneg, who gave the pygmy's threatening attitude as a pretext for killing him. But after the body had been disinterred and examined, it was found out that a part of the skull was lacking and that it had been severed from the rest by a cutting instrument: this proved to everybody's satisfaction that the case was a headhunting affair and nothing else.

"Every Isneg child should be obedient to its parents. As long as you are unmarried, you have the bounden duty to comply with the wishes of your parents, and not only with those of your parents, but

# THE STORY OF THE PRIMITIVE ISNEGS

Once upon a time in the olden time, the Kalag- 829
tappan Isneg did not have *aliwas*: they used only crude pieces of iron as their *aliwas*. These people were the most primitive Isnegs in Apayao because they could do very little with their irons. They dug under the ground and lived in their dug-outs and ate only the fruits of the trees. One day the Dibolo people made a trap with sharpened bamboo in which to kill deer and wild pigs. Shortly thereafter the Kalagtappan Isnegs came out from their caves to find fruits for food. It so happened that the trap had caught a wild pig. The Kalagtappan people took the pig and began to butcher it with their irons. But that day was the day for the owners of the trap to come. So they discovered that it was their trap which had caught the pig that the Kalagtappan people were butchering. However, they were having a hard time butchering the pig because their *aliwas* were only crude irons. So the owners of the trap kindly butchered the pig and gave all the meat to them.

Then the Dibolo people went back to their homes and told the story about what they found in the thick forest.

The following morning, after Garabel of Anagdong, husband of Palidiyan, had heard about this incident, he went to hunt with his dogs. When Garabel came to the place where the trap was set, one of his dogs was killed by the trap. While Garabal was calling his dog, named Somari, he saw the smoke of fire coming out from the ground. So he dug and dug in

829 the ground and found that there were many people down in the ground. So he lifted them out of the ground and brought them all to Anagdong. While they were in Anagdong, Garabel made enough *aliwas* for them and also built houses for them.

All the necessary things needed in the house were also given them by Garabel. So the Kalagtappan Isnegs lived there happily, due to the great help of Garabel and his wife, Palidiyan.

## "THE FALL"

### (Nabuañgan River Version)

000 There was a time when the sky world was close to the earth and the people used to go there to trade. These people were well-to-do, for Ewagan, the powerful, handsome, shining *anito*, was taking especial care of them. Through his magical powers it was not necessary for them to work. If a man wanted to start a new kaiñgin, all that he had to to was to start his *aliwa* in the place selected, and the *aliwa* would automatically cut down the vegetation. Or, if the kaiñgin needed cultivation, he just set the hoe in position and it would do the rest.

The mightiest warrior on the earth at that time was Songan, the *maiñgal* of Gayanan, which was the greatest *barangay*. Songan was very powerful as he had the same magical power as Ewagan. In order that the relationship between the earth people and the sky people might be perfected, the people of Gayanan requested Songan to go to Ewagan and arrange for a peace-pact between them.